

Message Text

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EXDIS, MILITARY HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: MARR, RP

SUBJ: PHILIPPINE BASE DISCUSSIONS JAN 9 MEETING

H.K FOR HOLBROOKE, NEWSOM, ABRAMOWITZ, ARMACOST, WEISNER

1. THERE FOLLOWS A PRELIMINARY OUTLINE OF AN AGENDA AND
TALKING POINTS TO BE COVERED IN THE JANUARY 9 MEETING WITH
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MARCOS. THIS OUTLINE IS STRUCTURED TO SERVE AS A BASIS
FOR YOUR DISCUSSIONS IN HONG KONG AND MANILA ON THE
APPROACH TO THE TALKS. IT MAY BE NECESSARY TO REFINE IT
ON THE BASIS OF YOUR DISCUSSIONS. FOR EACH AGENDA ITEM
EXCEPT COMPENSATION THERE IS A BACKGROUND PAPER FROM WHICH
THE SUMMARIZED TALKING POINTS ARE DRAWN.

A. U.S. DEFENSE POSTURE IN EAST ASIA

-- ABRAMOWITZ BRIEFING FROM DECEMBER 31, 1977 DOD PAPER (ONE AND ONE-HALF HOURS).

B. DEFENSE CONSULTATIONS

-- THERE IS A JOINT DEFENSE PLAN (OPLAN 1-70 PUBLISHED IN FEBRUARY 1971). THERE IS ALSO A 1975 U.S. DRAFT DEFENSE PLAN AWAITING ARMED FORCES OF THE PHILIPPINES REVIEW.

-- THE PLAN IS SUPPORTED BY THE U.S. DEFENSE POSTURE IN EAST ASIA WHICH WE HAVE JUST DESCRIBED. TOGETHER, THEY PROVIDE FLEXIBILITY FOR PROMPT REACTION TO ANY CONTINGENCY AND A BASIS FOR MORE DETAILED PLANNING IF AN EMERGENCY ARISES. THE U.S. IS PREPARED TO EXAMINE ANY FURTHER PHILIPPINE PROPOSALS FOR ENHANCING JOINT DEFENSE PLANNING AS PART OF OUR EFFORTS TO WORK OUT IMPROVED MEANS OF DEFENSE CONSULTATIONS.

-- WE ARE FLEXIBLE IN OUR APPROACH TO DEFENSE CONSULTATIONS AND WANT TO BE AS RESPONSIVE AS POSSIBLE TO PHILIPPINE REQUIREMENTS. WE AGREE THAT THERE SHOULD BE AN EXPLICIT ROLE FOR THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE IN ANY SUCH CONSULTATION AND HOPE WE CAN AGREE ON THE FORM DURING THIS MEETING. (FYI - BACKGROUND PAPER DESCRIBES TWO
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OPTIONS -- THE FIRST CONTAINS THREE TIERS: MDB, JOINT COMMISSION, AND COUNCIL OF MINISTERS; THE SECOND CONTAINS TWO TIERS, ELIMINATING THE JOINT COMMISSION LEVEL. END FYI.)

C. EQUIPMENT LIST

-- AFTER AN INITIAL EXAMINATION AND REVIEW OF THE LIST WHICH WAS PRESENTED TO AMBASSADOR NEWSOM BY SECRETARY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE ENRILE, WE HAVE BEGUN CAREFULLY TO REVIEW AND ASSESS IT IN THE LIGHT OF VARIOUS CRITERIA INCLUDING POLICY, PRICING AND AVAILABILITY. WE ARE HAVING DIFFICULTY WITH THE ASSESSMENT BECAUSE:

-- THE LIST IS UNREALISTICALLY LONG. IT IS DOUBLE THE LENGTH OF THE 1976 LIST WHICH ITSELF WAS LARGER THAN WAS FEASIBLE.

-- THE LIST CONTAINS A NUMBER OF ITEMS WE CANNOT SUPPLY ON ARMS TRANSFER POLICY GROUNDS (E.G., F-16'S) AS WELL AS ITEMS WHICH ARE OUT OF PRODUCTION, DO NOT HAVE AVAILABLE SPARE PARTS, OR ARE NOT IN SERVICE INVENTORIES.

-- MANY OF THE ITEMS ON THE LIST ARE NOT DESCRIBED WITH SUFFICIENT DETAIL OR PRECISION FOR US TO IDENTIFY WITH SPECIFIC DEFENSE EQUIPMENT.

-- THE LIST IS NOT PRIORITIZED.

NONETHELESS, WE ARE STRIVING TO COMPLETE OUR ANALYSIS OF THE LIST TO IDENTIFY THOSE ITEMS WHICH MERIT JOINT EXAMINATION AND WE ARE PREPARING TO SEND A SURVEY TEAM AS SOON AS THIS ANALYSIS IS COMPLETE.

D. COMPENSATION

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-- WE CANNOT BEGIN TO DISCUSS WHICH ITEMS ON THE LIST THE U.S. MAY BE ABLE TO FINANCE THROUGH GRANT MAP OR CREDITS UNTIL WE HAVE COMPLETED OUR JOINT ASSESSMENT OF THE LIST AND HAVE CONSULTED WITH CONGRESS ON IT.

-- THE U.S. WOULD BE WILLING TO CONCENTRATE THE GRANT MILITARY ASSISTANCE ELEMENT OF THE FINANCING PACKAGE IN THE EARLY STAGES OF ANY NEW AGREEMENT.

-- AN INTERAGENCY STUDY HAS BEEN FORMED TO INVESTIGATE POSSIBILITIES FOR A ZONE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE AREAS AROUND CLARK AND SUBIC AS PROPOSED BY PRESIDENT MARCOS. (FYI: AID ALREADY HAS PROJECTS WHICH IMPACT ON THESE AREAS BUT THE AMOUNTS INVOLVED ARE MINOR, TOTALLING LESS THAN DOLS 500,000. TO INCREASE THE AMOUNTS DEVOTED TO ANGELES CITY AND OLONGAPO UNDER THESE PROJECTS WILL MEAN TRANSFERRING FUNDS AND PERSONNEL FROM OTHER AREAS FOR WHICH THEY ARE ALREADY PROGRAMMED. THE MOST LIKELY FORM OF ADDITIONAL ASSISTANCE IS HOUSING INVESTMENT GUARANTEES. WHILE THIS IS A VALID AND USEFUL FORM OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, IT IS NOT WITHOUT ITS DIFFICULTIES. QUESTIONS ON SPECIFICS OF AID INVOLVEMENT CAN BE ADDRESSED TO JACK SULLIVAN, WHO WILL ACCOMPANY AID DIRECTOR GILLIGAN TO THE PHILIPPINES FROM JANUARY 9 THROUGH JANUARY 28. END FYI.)

-- TO BE QUITE DIRECT, A SIGNIFICANT DETERMINANT OF OUR ABILITY TO DELIVER AN APPROPRIATE COMPENSATION PACKAGE WILL BE THE PERCEPTION OF THE U.S. CONGRESS ABOUT THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN THE PHILIPPINES AT THE TIME THE PROPOSAL IS SUBMITTED TO THEM.

E. FORM OF AGREEMENT

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-- WE BELIEVE THERE ARE THREE BASIC OPTIONS:

(1) AN ENTIRELY NEW AGREEMENT SUPERSEDING THE CURRENT AGREEMENT AND ITS AMENDMENTS CURRENTLY IN EFFECT AND INCLUDING A SPECIFIC MULTIYEAR COMPENSATION PACKAGE. THE ENTIRE AGREEMENT, INCLUDING COMPENSATION, WOULD BE SUBMITTED TO CONGRESS FOR ITS APPROVAL. THIS APPROACH COULD PROVE TROUBLESOME, HOWEVER, BECAUSE CONGRESS HAS NOT BEEN HAPPY WITH THE MULTIYEAR COMMITMENT FEATURE IN OTHER PROPOSED AGREEMENTS. AND EVEN IF CONGRESS APPROVED A MULTIYEAR AUTHORIZATION OF FUNDS, ACTUAL DISBURSEMENT WOULD STILL BE SUBJECT TO ANNUAL APPROPRIATIONS BY THE CONGRESS.

(2) AN ENTIRELY NEW AGREEMENT SUPERSEDING THE CURRENT AGREEMENT AND ITS AMENDMENTS CURRENTLY IN EFFECT BUT,

LIKE THE CURRENT AGREEMENT, NOT EXPRESSLY OR BY IMPLICATION CONTINGENT UPON CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL OF A COMPENSATION PACKAGE. IN THIS CASE, THERE COULD BE A SEPARATE EXCHANGE OF NOTES OUTLINING THE ADMINISTRATION'S INTENT TO IMPLEMENT SPECIFIC PROGRAMS TO ASSURE THAT OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP IS MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL. TO THE EXTENT THAT IT WOULD INVOLVE APPROPRIATION OF FUNDS, THIS EXCHANGE OF NOTES WOULD HAVE TO STATE THAT IT IS SUBJECT TO THE AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS APPROPRIATED FOR THAT PURPOSE BY THE U.S. CONGRESS. BECAUSE IT WOULD BE INDEPENDENT OF THE COMPENSATION PACKAGE, THE NEW AGREEMENT COULD BE SIGNED AND ENTER INTO FORCE AS AN EXECUTIVE AGREEMENT WITHOUT ANY FORMAL CONGRESSIONAL ACTION. THIS WOULD BY NO MEANS OBLIATE THE NEED TO CONSULT WITH CONGRESS DURING OUR TALKS, NOR WOULD IT AFFECT THE CASE ACT REQUIREMENT THAT THE AGREEMENT BE SENT TO CONGRESS WITHIN 60 DAYS OF ITS ENTERING INTO FORCE. BUT IT WOULD AVOID THE COMPLICATIONS INHERENT IN TRYING TO GAIN APPROVAL FOR A MULTIYEAR COM-

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PENSATION PACKAGE.

(3) IN THE EVENT THAT WE CONCLUDE THAT IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO REACH A COMPREHENSIVE NEW AGREEMENT AT THIS TIME, IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO AMEND THE CURRENT AGREEMENT THROUGH EXCHANGES OF NOTES ON SPECIFIC ISSUES. SINCE WE HAVE BEEN AIMING FOR A NEW AGREEMENT ON ALL ISSUES, THIS WOULD

FALL SHORT OF OUR GOAL IN THE TALKS. THIS IS OBVIOUSLY
LESS DESIRABLE AND WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD TURN TO IT ONLY AS
A LAST RESORT IF WE DECIDED CERTAIN LIMITED CHANGES WERE
DESIRABLE EVEN IN THE ABSENCE OF A COMPREHENSIVE NEW
AGREEMENT.

-- WHICHEVER OF THE THREE OPTIONS IS EMPLOYED, WE BELIEVE
THAT IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THERE BE AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE
IN THIS FORUM BEFORE MATTERS ARE TRANSFERRED TO WORKING
GROUPS FOR DETAILED EXAMINATION.

CHRISTOPHER

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